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> dangling on their backs; and only supported by holding them by their wrists in front of them" /cited in English/.

leather, the sides of which are about 40 centimeters long, with short straps knotted to the four corners. After she has lifted the child onto her back, she places this piece over it and ties the straps in front of her chest. When she straightens up, the child sits securely and lets his legs dangle down on either side of her, encircling her neck with his little arms.

The child must, of course, submit to all the effects of the weather (147), although in heavy rain and strong wind the mother

> 147. Hyades (f):572 expresses his astonishment thus: "The Fuegian babies are never clothed. Thus they brave the inclemencies of the weather, uniquely protected by contact with the mother's warmth" /translated from French/.

remains in the hut as much as possible. Thus, the children, from the first days of their lives, become accustomed to the rigors and severities of their homeland. Nevertheless, it is striking that children under a year old rarely die (148). Perhaps the babies' freedom

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> 148. Bridges (a):181 confirms: "It is a general custom with these people to bear their children out of doors, be the weather fine or inclement, even though it is snowing or raining, in winter and summer" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):146.

of movement is advantageous. As we have said, they are permitted to crawl about on the ground for many hours, completely naked and quite unimpeded, or they may lie on their backs kicking merrily as long as they like. On the canoe trip, however, they must forgo this. Any kind of baby carriage is unknown to the Yamana; it would be useless, since during the day the children spend a great deal of time in the fragile vessel.

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Just as on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 376), the babies of the entire

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854 145 Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (a):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

853 147 262 Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly Mytilus mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (a):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces 853 when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

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842 some. As a result the Yamana have the idea that sterility in marriage is solely attributable to the woman, whom they call a caxula. Thus this unusual fact (168) is not /729/ completely un-

168. The unreliability of what Hahn (a):805 maintains is obvious: "Sterility is very common in both sexes, according to Mr. Bridges, who attributes it to the precocity and the abuse of sexual relations" /translated from French/.

known, and they pity the woman who is forever denied the blessing of children. My inquiries agree with Hahn (a):805 that "spontaneous [843] abortion is very rare" /translated from French/. It happens almost always as a result of great physical exertion or very great shock.

162 According to all the observations that we know of, the sexes are somewhat unevenly distributed in favor of girls among the Yamana. The venerable John Lawrence assured me of this, and in Hyades (q):190 we read: "In our observations we have also established a slight predominance of girls over boys" /translated from French/. A census taken by Bridges in 1884 (p. 224 /untranslated, but the figures referred to are given in English/) showed that among 1,000 natives there were only 277 men as against 316 women.

845 In this tribe of Fuegians twins are just as rare as among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 390). From former times I am familiar with only the one definite report that "Jemmy Button's eldest daughter has two beautiful twin children about four months old" /cited in English/ (MM:XI, 274;1877). Later Hyades (q):190 mentions a woman 45 years old among whose ten children there was a pair of twin brothers. Finally, Holmberg (a):57 maintained: "I have a photograph of a Yahgan woman with twins, who are regarded as an extraordinary event" /translated from Spanish/. Were these witnesses really reliably informed? At any rate a twin birth is an extraordinarily rare phenomenon.

● 145 There are no accurate observations about the menopause, the time when menstruation ultimately ceases. Bridges and Hyades (q):189 observed pregnancy among women who were already 45 years old. Hence Fuegian women conceive until relatively late

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145 in life. They are familiar with this phenomenon, and they are quietly resigned to what is in store for them. A few older Indian women said that the change of life caused them and other women scarcely any difficulties worth mentioning. It is not strange that 144 female diseases were completely unknown to the Yamana of olden times. For a while Nelly Lawrence suffered from a very painful prolapse of the womb (prolapsus uteri). When the attack was over, she emphatically expressed to me her absolute conviction that this condition had hitherto not troubled any woman and that she was the first to suffer from it.

7. Naming

551 For reasons we shall soon mention any festivity or ceremony on the occasion of giving a child a name is superfluous. Every Yamana, without exception, has a proper name, and in addition, most of them also have a personal nickname. Very definite mention of this double naming customary among the Yamana is found in Hyades (q):376 and in Outes (g):55: "A child is given the name of his birthplace or of the peculiarities that distinguish him" /translated from Spanish/ (169). The most important, of course,

> 169. Bridges (a):182 mentions a third kind, namely, "family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kinds of names, generally have no meaning" /cited in English/. See footnote 174 below and Bridges (h):207.

is the actual proper name (170).

> 170. This should be especially emphasized as opposed to Despard (b):698, who reverses the order when he says: "Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place" /cited in English/.

/730/ It is not hard to choose a proper name, for it is taken from the place where the child was born, and it is given the proper

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854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,
853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and
862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur-
●145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has
856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

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145 is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly
856 pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any ef-
868 fort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger
145 brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention.
857 After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

856 The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which
171 visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they resort to a magical custom known as mūąsą, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

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861 is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

861 Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training
881 process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves. True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, ćiéxaus, but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

•145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

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●145 not contradict what Bridges asserted: "Youths of 19 and 20 you would frequently mistake for 14 and 15. For instance, Tymuran. I had thought him to be 13 or 14, but on looking into my registration of births I find he will be twenty years old in August... This and many similar cases tend to show that a hard life and short commons delay the growth" /cited in English/ (MM: XVIII, 223;1884). I cannot agree with this conclusion.

In the following account we have in mind those children who are slowly developing their mental power until, at puberty, they enter the youth initiation required of everyone.

1. Separation of the Sexes

864 In Tierra del Fuego, as in Europe, the little creature in the so-called neutral age of childhood is regarded as "sexless," for, without objection, it is permitted to romp about everywhere completely naked and, in its innocence, can relieve its natural needs in full view of other people. No adult would dream of making insinuating remarks about the unconscious behavior of infants or of covering up their nakedness before the eyes of others. With candid naturalness the mother feeds her darling at her breast, just as she would feed him a small piece of roasted fat. Our Fuegians show an entirely healthy and straightforward attitude toward such natural things.

/738/ This conduct changes as soon as the child has completed approximately his fourth year, for now it enters into what Stratz:335 has called the "bisexual age of childhood." Now the sexual character begins to assert itself, and the child himself begins to take it into account. He is now guided by his awakening awareness of himself, since parents and adults almost never offer instruction or admonition. Instead, they see to it that the child covers his sexual parts, and they adjust the little apron if it has

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a. Regulations for Girls

145 Among Yamana children there is a decided physical development around the fourteenth year, leading to a greater fullness among girls than among boys (p. 394) (188). For the

188. Hahn (a):804 also observed this: "The development of the young girl is most remarkable at the moment of puberty; it is so rapid that it is difficult to determine the age of a girl between ten and fourteen" /translated from French/.

majority of girls the menarche begins shortly before; girls experience it between the beginning of their 13th year and the 15th. Hyades (q):187, not deviating very much from these figures, says: "For all Fuegian women the menses begin between the 14th and the 15th year" /translated from French/ (189). In February,

189. Hyades (f):572 repeats this in essence: "Menstruation begins between 14 and 16 years of age. These figures coincide with the information given me by the Reverend T. Bridges" /translated from French/. Another, inaccurate assertion on the subject by this missionary was rejected by Hyades (ℓ): 717, 720.

1920, Lola was exactly 12 years and four months old when menstruation began for her; the venerable John Lawrence knew her birthday. This occurred on my second journey, and I had an opportunity at that time to learn how a girl must adjust to the event. /754/ We must add that Lola bore her first child at the age of 13 years and seven months. It is usually impossible to determine the exact age for each girl, because no Fuegian pays any attention to the exact age of anyone (190).

190. Bridges (d):289 expresses himself vaguely: "As regards the time of puberty,

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• 145 it is greatly retarded by hardship and forwarded by plenty. Some are as well developed at 13 as others at 18 or even 19 years" /cited in English/. He (a):204 is certainly referring to this period, however, when he says that girls "from 13 to 14 years of age were instructed by their aunts, after which they could marry" /translated from Spanish/.

881 The mother forewarns her daughter out of precautionary solicitude: "Soon you will feel very unwell and there will also be bleeding in an unusual place. Do not worry, and tell me about it!" Thus the girl is prepared. As soon as the first indications of menstruation appear, the girl tells an older sister or a woman close to her, an aunt or grandmother, who brings it to the attention of the girl's mother and women neighbors. The girl seldom tells her own mother; "she is ashamed!" I was told. The bleeding itself is called wélix, according to BD:605; and tú-ri, tú-ikipa is the name for the girls themselves during these days. Throughout, they have almost no physical discomfort. Hahn (f):572 agrees: "...this function is easily established, although the natives combine a few days of fasting with the first menstruation" /translated from French/.

At the same time various significant restrictions begin for these tú-ikipa. Free play and carefree wandering cease, and the girl must remain close to the hut. She must either sit by the fire or perform various kinds of work. The more she moves and stirs about in doing this, the better. Primarily she must help and substitute for her own mother in the daily work, but she must also fetch water and wood for other women. Again and again she is specifically requested to do these services and is sent to the neighboring huts. If there is nothing left to be done, she must crouch quietly on the floor in the parental hut, be as motionless as possible, refrain from inquisitively looking about, and practice silence. The night's sleep is considerably shortened and early rising absolutely demanded. The tú-ikipa is anxiously and solicitously watched, cared for, instructed, and admonished by other women. Occasionally a woman will invite her to join her at her daily tasks. They go out together to draw water, pick up

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example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair, this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

In the following pages the work of the yékamuf, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p.3[illegible]), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p.[illegible]06). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p.2[illegible]). The fact that many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occured, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (360). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

> 360. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fuegians can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.